## Message Text

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**ACTION NEA-12** 

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 OMB-01 AID-20 EB-11 PM-07 NSC-10 SS-15

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R 071030Z JUL 73 FM AMEMBASSY KABUL RO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 4575 INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CONFIDENTIAL KABUL 5853

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PINT, PINS, AF

SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH KABUL GOVERNOR AYEEN

1. KABUL GOVERNOR AYEEN CALLED AMBASSADOR SATURDAY, AUGUST 4. INDICATING THAT HE WISHED TO MEET HIMM WITHOUT EXPLICITLY SO STATING, GOVERNOR INDICATED HE PREFERRED MEETING ON THIRD PARTY PREMISES AND AGREED MEET AMBASSADOR AT RESIDENCE A/DCM SUNDAY, 6:00 P.M. AYEEN ARRIVED AT 5:45 PM, AND THIS WAS NO OVERSIGHT. AYEEN CLEARLY DID NOT WANT TO ARRIVE OR DEPART AT SAME TIME AS AMBASSADOR AND QUESTIONED A/DCM IF HE AWARE THAT UNDER PREVIOUS DAUD REGIME SERVANTS CALLED UPON TO REPORT TO AUTHORITIES REGARDING VISITORS. A/DCM ADVISED AYEEN THAT OFFICIAL AMERICANS ABROAD EMPLOYING SERVANTS OTHER THEN AMERICANS OPERATED ON THE ASSUMPTION AT ALL TIMES THAT SUCH EMPLOYEES PROBABLY HAD DUAL RESPONSIBILITIES. AYEEN THEN QUESTIONED A/DCM REGARDING OTHER SOCIAL CONTACTS WITH AFGHAN OFFICIALS. A/DCM NOTED THAT SOCIAL PACE HAD SLOWED SINCE COUP AND THAT FEWER AFGHAN OFFICIALS APPEARED AT SUCH OCCASIONS. IT WAS AGREED THAT WHILE APPARENTLY NO INSTRUCTIONS HAD BEEN ISSUED, AFGHAN OFFICIALS AWARE OF LIMITATIONS ON THEIR CONTACT WITH FOREIGN OFFICIALS FROM PREVIOUS DAUD REGIME.

2. UPON AMBASSADOR'S ARRIVAL AYEEN SUGGESTED MOVING FROM PORCH OF RESIDENCE TO INTERIOR. AYEEN IMMEDIATELY ASKED AMBASSADOR CONFIDENTIAL

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ABOUT HIS JUDGMENT ON DAUD GOVERNMENT. AMBASSADOR INDICATED THAT HE HAD A WAIT AND SEE ATTITUDE, BUT THAT IT APPEARED MAKEUP OF GOVERNMENT WAS WEAK. AYEEN CONCURRED WHOLE-HEARTEDLY AND ASKED IF WE BELIEVED THAT MINISTER OF EDUCATION PAZHWAK WAS MEMBER OF

SOVIET-ORIENTED PARCHARM. AMBASSADOR SAID HE AWARE OF THIS STORY, BUT HAD NOT YET REACHED ANY CONCLUSIONS. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION AYEEN SAID JUNIOR OFFICERS IN CABINET (MINISTERS OF INTERIOR, COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLIC WORKS) WERE "CRIMINALS." IN CLARIFYING THIS SOBRIQUET, HE SAID THEY WERE KNOWN TO HAVE "MISUSED FUNDS" IN THEIR FORMER OFFICIAL CAPACITIES. HE SAID THAT THIS LET HIM TO BELIEVE THAT DAUD WAS OPERATING IN THE SAME FASHION AS HE DID DURING HIS PREVIOUS REGIME, GIVING PEOPLE APPOINTMENTS AS REWARDS NOT NECESSARILY ON MERIT AND NOT BECAUSE OF FAMILY OR TRIBAL CONNECTIONS. HE NOTED THAT IT APPEARED SOME OF THESE PEOPLE WANTED TO GET CLOSE TO THE "STREAM OF GOLD AND SILVER." A YEEN EXPRESSED FURTHER THAT HE FEARFUL DAUD HAD NOT CHANGED AT ALL SINCE 1963 WHEN HE LEFT OFFICE AND THAT HE HAD SERIOUS CONCERN ABOUT STABILITY OF COUNTRY BECAUSE OF APPARENT SPLITS IN CURRENT LEADERSHIP GROUP.

- 3. AYEEN SAID THAT DAUD WAS CARRYING TOO LARGE A WORKLOAD FOR ANY ONE PERSON AND ESPECIALLY ONE OF 64 YEARS OF AGE. HE SAID HE WAS VERY UNEASY BUT COULD NOT SPECIFY WHO MIGHT BE LEADER OF GROUP IN OPPOSITION AT THIS TIME. HE ASKED IF WE THOUGHT THAT THERE WAS SOME NASSER PLAYING A ROLE TO DAUD'S NAGUIB. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS CONCERNING REMAINDER OF AFGHANISTAN OUTSIDE OF KABUL AS BEING POSSIBLE SOURCE OF DISCONTENT, AYEEN SAID THAT FORMULATION OF REPUBLIC WAS GENERALLY POPULAR THROUGHOUT COUNTRY. HE SAID THAT POOR PEOPLE OF FARMS AND VILLAGES EQUATED ROYAL FAMILY WITH THEIR POVERTY, MEANNESS OF LIFE, AND WIDE-SPREAD CORRUPTION, AND THEREFORE, SUPPORTED REPUBLIC. THEY WERE NOT NECESSARILY CONCERNED WITH LEADERSHIP OF REPUBLIC BECAUSE ANYTHING WOULD BE AN IMPROVEMENT.
- 4. AYEEN SAID THAT ONLY POSSIBLE POLITICAL LEADER WHO COULD PLAY OPPOSITION ROLE AT THIS TIME MIGHT BE FORMER PRIME MINISTER MAIWANDAL. HE SAID THAT MAINWANDAL HAD BEEN "CALLED BACK FROM ABROAD" BY DAUD AND IT HAD BEEN BELIEVED THAT HE MIGHT RECEIVE SENIOR POSITION IN NEW GOVERNMENT, POSSIBLY VICE PRESIDENT. AYEEN SAID HE KNEW THAT MAINWANDAL HAD MET WITH DAUD AND HE, AYEEN, SURPRISED THAT MAINWANDAL NOT IN CONFIDENTIAL

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GOVERNMENT BUT ASSUMED THAT MAINWANDAL HAD REFUSED APPOINTMENT AS VICE PRESIDENT AS NOT BEING A SIGNIFICANT POSITION.

- 5. AYEEN SAID THAT MINISTRY OF DEFENSE WAS AT COMPLETE STAND-STILL BECAUSE LEADERSHIP WAS TOTALLY ABSENT IN VIEW OF FACT THAT CHIEF OF STAFF MUSTAGNI WAS BEING USED BY DAUD AS PERSONAL AND PRIVATE SECRETARY. HE SAID THAT MINISTRY OF DEFENSE WAS NOT EVEN CARRYING OUT IS ROUTINE DAY-TO-DAY TASKS BECAUSE OF THIS LACK OF LEADERSHIP.
- 6. AYEEN NOTED THAT HE FELT DAUD'S REPLY TO QUESTION CONCERNING HELMAND WATERS TREATY WITH IRAN AT PRESS CONFERENCE IN WHICH DAUD SAID HE HAD NO VIEWS SINCE HE HAD NOT READ TREATY WAS

TERRIBLE BLUNDER. AYEEN COMMENTED THAT TREATY WAS NUMBER ONE POLITICAL ISSUE IN COUNTRY PRIOR TO COUP AND FOR ANY LEADER TO HAVE SAID WHAT HE DID INDICATED A WEAKNESS WHICH DAUD COULD NOT AFFORD.

- 7. THROUGHOUT CONVERSATION AYEEN RETURNED TO THEME OF WEAKNESS OF CABINET, OBSERVING THAT YOUNG PEOPLE HAVING BEEN GIVEN SENIOR RESPONSIBILITIES WITH NO EXPERIENCE WAS TERRIBLE MISTAKE. HE ASKED IF WE WERE AWARE OF BACKGROUND MINISTER OF FINANCE. HE WAS INFORMED THAT WERE WERE AWARE AND OBSERVED THAT DISAPPEARANCE OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE FROM PASHTANY TEJARATY BANK WAS RESULT OF INCOMPETENCE RATHER THAN CORRUPTION.
- 8. AMBASSADOR NOTED TWICE DURING CONVERSATION THAT USG PRIMARY CONCERN WAS POLICY OF NEW GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. WE TOOK POSITION THAT CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT WAS INTERNAL AFFAIR OF AFGHANISTAN AND WE WERE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO WORK WITH NEW GOVERNMENT SO LONG AS IT UNDERTOOK THOSE KINDS OF PROGRAMS AND POLICIES WHICH WERE OF BENEFIT TO ENTIRE POPULATION, AND COULD EFFECTIVELY MOVE COUNTRY FORWARD TO IMPROVED QUALITY OF LIFE.
- 9. REGARDING HIS PERSONAL SITUATION, AYEEN SAID THAT HE HAD CLEARLY EXPECTED TO BE REMOVED AS GOVERNOR OF KABUL PROVINCE ON MORNING OF COUP. HE SAID SINCE THAT TIME HE HAD MET WITH MEMBERS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND HAD PERSONAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT DAUD. HE SAID THAT DAUD INDICATED HE NOT PREVIOUSLY KNOWN AYEEN THOUGH AYEEN SAID OVER THE YEARS HE HAD MET WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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DAUD NUMBER OF TIMES AND HE KNEW THAT NUMBER OF TRIBAL LEADERS FROM BADAKSHAN, WHERE HE HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN GOVERNOR, HAD METWITH DAUD AND TOLD DAUD WHAT HE HAD DONE AS GOVERNOR IN THAT PROVINCE. HE SAID THAT HE WAS INSTRUCTED BY DAUD TO RETURN TO HIS WORK AS GOVERNOR AND CONTINUE AS PREVIOUSLY. HE WAS NOT AT ALL CERTAN HOW LONG THIS WOULD LAST. IT HIS PERSONAL WISH THAT HE BE RELIVED AS GOVERNOR IN ORDER TO HAVE A FEW MONTHS TO THINK AND WRITE. HE SAID HE WOULD NOT RESIGN, HOWEVER, SINCE THIS MIGHT BE CONSTRUED TO BE AN EXPRESSION OF DISAPPROVAL OF PRESENT REGIME AND ALSO A SIGNAL THAT HE WAS "A ROYALIST". HE SAID THAT HE HAD NEVER BEEN "A ROYALIST".

10. AS AMBASSADOR'S SUGGESTION HE AGREED THAT AMBASSADOR SHOULD LEAVEA/DCM'S RESIDENCE PRIOR TO HIS DEPARTURE. HE ALSO SAID THAT HE HAD SOUGHT THIS MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR BECAUSE HE WANTED TO SEE HIM PRIOR TO AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE AND ARRIVAL OF NEW AMBASSADOR BECAUSE THEY WERE SUCH OLD AND CLOSE FRIENDS. SUBSEQUENT TO AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE AYEEN ASKED IF HE COULD TELEPHONE HIS DRIVER AND THIS WAS DONE. AYEEN REMAINED ABOUT 15 MINUTES AFTER AMBASSADOR'S DEPARTURE AND A/DCM ACCOMPANIED HIM TO GATE. AYEEN WENT THROUGH DOOR IN EXTREMELY FURTIVE MANNER AND WITHOUT LOOKING IMMEDIATELY TURNED TO RIGHT

AND SET OFF AT FAST PACE, HIS CAR WAS NOT IN FRONT OF A/DCM'S RESIDENCE.

11. COMMENT: AYEEN IS AN OLD AND HIGHLY REGARDED FRIEND OF THIS EMBASSY. WE BELIEVE HIM TO BE HONEST AND SINCERE REPORTER OF EVENTS AS HE SEES THEM. WE HAVE NO REASON TO BELIEVE HE WAS DISSEMBLING IN ANY MANNER WHATSOEVER, AND THAT HE SINCERELY WISHES TO REVIEW SITUATION WITH US.

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